/277 cont./

556 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women
562 are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more
[181] intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is
556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis-
237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native
[415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical
[735] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the
556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan.
237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of
614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of
556 manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This
614 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, headdresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously
614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵒKario Bokodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Āróre ǰa̰bōgeʷōge, Ɛ́wa̰guddudoge ǰa̰bōgeʷōge, and Ɛ́wa̰guddudoge bo'pokɛjewōge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, J̌iba, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ɛ́wa̰guddudoge baiaddadaᵃge, and O ǰera clans.

The Bādejebage ǰɛbegeʷōge were given to us as especially poor.

/295 cont./
301 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round,
614 pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows)
237 on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C).
614 The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and poᵒri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
[534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarer
[973] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
[302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and perhaps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
614 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Ārõre, who
562 are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 36]

/297 cont./

614 designate the Ārórę ̨ębege ̨ ̨ō (No. 13 /see Figure 15, p. 6/),
562 Ait'e Aréme, "the women of the ait'e." This is the only case where we have seen a relationship established between the female element of a clan and its emblems (1).

534
562

1. This expression is all the more curious because, as we know, the Bororo think—or say—that a woman who sees a "bull-roarer" will die. The belief is still very much alive.

[764] The first time that we saw "bull-roarers" being made, on the occasion of funeral rites, where this instrument plays a large role, the natives replied to our questions that they were "kitchen utensils." After interminable

[126] negotiations with the chief through the medium of his advisors, it was decided to reveal their true nature to us and to sell us some already-made specimens; but not without having revealed to us the tragic consequences which any imprudence on our part would have. To receive the instruments it was necessary to come to the men's house after dark with all that we had in the way of string, paper, and bags. The packing was done by the natives themselves, and they took care that the packages disappeared immediately into the bottom of our trunks. At the time of our departure, as a native and his wife were to accompany us for several days, the same cautionary remarks were repeated, and they made us promise that we would not open the trunks before Cuiabá.

/298 cont./
614 labial pendant. Inanimate nature is also utilized, for water is one of the eponyms of the Bādejebage.

614 773 The relation of the clans with their eponyms is very clearly indicated by native folklore. The collection of narratives and legends which forms the second and most valuable part of Colbacchini's work (1) contains a series of information which it is

[113]

1. Colbacchini, D.A., I Boros orientali Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

614 787 enough to analyze. In all cases the same process is apparent: the adoption of a name is the result of an individual revelation which has passed into the collective patrimony of the clan. One day a member of the clan met an animal which manifested to him, by a special, gutteral cry, that he was not a common animal but [775] a member of the "spiritual community" (2). This revelation

● [562] [885] [775]

2. The term "aroe," which we translate in this manner, signifies both the society of adult men having access to the baitemannanage" and the part of the individual which survives after death.

perhaps indicates that the soul of the beneficiary will live after [775] the death of the body in the form of this animal. One should still not be in too much of a hurry to speak of metempsychosis, for it is less that the soul must be transformed into an animal than that the spiritual nature of the soul, to make itself known to the individual, chooses a special incarnation, most often an animal, but sometimes also the sun, the moon, or some other perceptible medium. Whatever it may be, the individual who has received this revelation adopts /299/ the name of the medium without fail: "The Ibis will be mine," "My name will be Big Arara," etc.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 [477] [847] Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

301 556 428 433 Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally. It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging in direct activities for subsistence.

436 437 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 224 425 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 224 [562] [778] Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 824 237 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 785 [264] Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching [826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony.

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes.

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted.

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [726] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [237] [825] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 273 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots [756] or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and 776 rival functionaries.

775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] meréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu- 756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and [754] confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a 756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the 755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [262] [778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter V

ADDITIONAL DATA CONCERNING KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

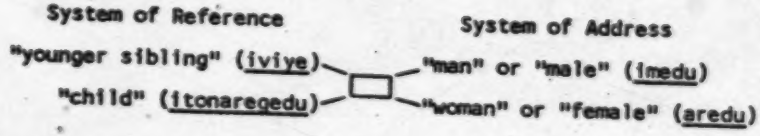
Terms of Address

114 *601 In my discussion of the Bororo referential terminology, I have not made any use of the literature available on the subject (Albisetti, 1948: 10-11; Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962: 452-475; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 51; Lévi-Strauss, 1936: 281; Oberg, 1953: 127). The published data present a great deal of inconsistency, due to the difficulty in distinguishing among the different terminological systems which, side by side and often cross-cutting each other, are used by the Bororo.

*601 The terms of address constitute one of these systems. I will not give a list of all the vocative kin terms, because most of them are identical with the referential kin terms. Only the differences between the two systems will be noted.

The descriptive term for son is itonaregedu imedu ("male child"), for daughter is itonaregedu aredu ("female child"), for younger brother iviye imedu ("male younger sibling"), for *601 younger sister iviye aredu ("female younger sibling"). In 561 the referential system the distinction between sexes was 562 neutralized and both son and daughter were referred to as itonaregedu ("child") and both younger sister and younger

*601 brother were referred to as iviye ("younger sibling"). In
561 the system of address the distinction between generations is
562 neutralized and the sex differentiation stressed, so that both son and younger brother are called imedu ("man" or "male") and both daughter and younger sister are called aredu ("woman" or "female").



*601 The terms for these new designations do not take the prefix for the first singular, i, it, in, which all of the reference terms have (i in imedu is part of the root), and they usually have postposed the adjectives "young" and "old" which will be discussed later.

Second, there is a merger of certain kin types from the grandparents' generation with those of the parents' generation:

$$(HP \rightarrow P) = (dc \rightarrow c)$$

i.e., Ego's mother's parents are addressed in the same way as Ego's own parents. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals also holds: Ego's daughter's child is addressed in the same way as Ego's own child.

We can immediately perceive the structural similarity of this rule with the Crow Type IV rule in the consanguineal domain and with the female parallel-collateral skewing rule. This is the third time that the structural equivalence of

*601
602

	"grand-father" and "mother"	"sibling"	"grand-mother" and "father"	"grand-child" and "child"	
pega rogu	+	+	+		Senior
pega	+	+	+		
rogu		+			
0	+	+	+	+	
0	+	+	+	+	Junior
rogu		+	+	+	
pega			+	+	
pega rogu			+	+	

[562] The two subclasses "man" or "male" (imedu) and "woman" or "female" (aredu) are not included in the diagram because the application of the adjective to them follows the same rules as for "younger siblings" and "children."

*601
561 The kinship terms can receive further specifications. The most important among these are those used in connection with relative age or the birth order of siblings. Ego will describe his or her sibling born before him either as itododaiwu ("the one before me"), or pebutoijagiwu ("the one born before me"), or ikodurekodajiwu ("the one whom I follow"). He will describe his sibling born after him either as

101 be chosen among the yorubodarege lineages. But whatever the correct interpretation is, if in fact there is one, the people of one's own moiety and those from the other one will all be merged in the term paobe (first person plural inclusive) when contrasting the Bororo to civilized people or some other indian tribe.

*601 In addition to genealogically specified kin-types, any
561 Bororo, if necessary, may be designated by a kinship term:
● 562

imana ("a man's older brother"): Any man of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

ivuri ("a woman's older brother"): Any man of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

iyedaga ("grandfather"): Any imana or ivuri who is knowledgeable or quite old.

ituye ("older sister"): Any woman of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

iviye ("younger sister"): Any person of the same moiety who is younger than Ego.

iyogwa ("father"): Any man of the opposite moiety who is older than Ego. Also any man, regardless of his age, who belongs to Ego's father's clan.

imarugo ("grandmother"): Any woman of the opposite moiety who is older than Ego. Also any woman, regardless of her age, who belongs to Ego's father's clan.

itonaregedu ("child"): Any person of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego and does not belong

*601 to Ego's father's clan.

561 ivagedu ("grandson"): Any man of the same moiety who
• 562 is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego iyedaga. Any man of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

irago ("granddaughter"): Any woman of the same moiety who is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego iyedaga. Any woman of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

*601 A further extragenealogical extension of kinship terms
82 includes all the world. All plants, animals, rivers, mountains, stars, and even spirits are conceived as connected to a particular clan or subclan. How these connections became established differs from case to case. Some animals were already part of a certain clan in mythical times when there was not yet a difference between animals and people. Some other items were seen for the first time by a member of a specific clan. For many others the Bororo do not know to whom they belong. However they have no doubt that everything belongs to somebody, and if they do not know it, it is because today the knowledge of the people is limited. Any such item, if connected with one's own clan, or, by extension, with any clan of one's moiety, will be considered the person's grandfather or grandmother. If it is connected with one's father's clan, or, by extension, with any clan of the opposite moiety,

587 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he
593 should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

562 For the women things go differently. A good wife is
593 supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with
837 her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her mother's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the
[614] mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women, however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman
[578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is considered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her
593 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better
837 for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife.
602 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in contin-
835 uous contact. They live in the same house, they are his companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

844 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private af-
585 fairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaf-
553 firmed. Naming and initiation are socially important rites
881 of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions
[128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

553 According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the
[613] child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver
553 and namereceiver has been mentioned before. The ceremony
562 for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

853 Bororo fathers and mothers are very affectionate and
868 patient with their children. Both parents teach the child how to talk, and when the child grows up and starts asking questions, they try to explain everything they are asked.
603 The method of education is by advice and persuasion. In
868 the village where I worked, a three-year-old girl once was crying and screaming loudly at her grandmother. The woman seemed not to pay too much attention to her behavior and kept talking gently to her, saying that she should not be angry with her grandparents because they were not maltreating her; they were teaching her so she would know how to do things and would behave correctly; that when she grew up she would go to collect ako (one kind of nut) and pick ari, boko, and jatugo (fruits of the forest); that for these
855 reasons they were talking to her. Sometimes, however, the
861 Bororo make the children obey by threatening that some animals, owls or wolves, will come and eat their sexual organs. Very seldom is a child beaten; when it happens, it is only for special transgressions. Only once did I see a mother strike her daughter with a stick. She had found the child eating clay, and the child had been previously warned several times not to do it. The children are never forced to do something they do not want to do. A mother can ask her young daughter to go to the spring to get some water, but if the girl says itaidu kare--"I do not want to do it"--the mother will take the container and go to the spring herself.

868 At three or four years of age a girl will start to play
562 with small baskets, straw trays, and fans that her mother

868 makes for her. A boy will play with calabashes and with
562 small bows and arrows made for him by his father. As they grow up girls and boys are educated by their mothers and fathers, respectively, in the tasks that they will perform as
868 adults. The fact that the principal educator of a boy is
822 his father has far-reaching consequences. Since the Bororo headman, boe eimejera, should be a good hunter, a good fisherman, a good craftsman, and above all an intellectual with great knowledge of tribal traditions, myths, and songs, and since all skills and knowledge are acquired from one's fathers and initiators, the office of headman is not transmitted matrilineally but goes from father to son. One may also become knowledgeable without having a knowledgeable father. He may receive the desired instruction from some other man, but only if he pays the man, i.e., if he gives presents of food in exchange for information. From his matrilineage, from his classificatory brothers, and from his namegiver (if he is one of his brothers) a man will inherit the right to ceremonial performances, names, and songs; but he will not be taught how to perform the ceremonies or how to sing the songs unless he pays his instructors. I quote here the words of a headman, which convey the Bororo thoughts about education:

868
829
593 If your father is a knowledgeable man, if he is a chief of the Bororo, he will want you to be like him, to be as knowledgeable as he is. He will will die but you will be here in his place, you will be the chief of the Bororo in his place. With this in mind he instructed you in all these things.

But suppose you do not listen to your father's

sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities, participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into subclans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and subclans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In reporting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ancestors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Araroe have araro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Araroe have araro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers. The division is not restricted only to animals; many other beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differentiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu

(black arrow), butore choreu (black rattle made from peccary hooves), marido imedu (big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant), and Jakomea imedu (male spirit Jakomea); ancestors of the Red Ivagududoge are tugo kujagureu (red arrow), butore kujagureu (red rattle), marido aredu (female wheel), and Jakomea aredu (female Jakomea). Thus, black or male items are the ancestors of the more important subclan, while red or female items are the ancestors of the less important subclan. Furthermore, in most cases it is possible to substitute black for female and vice versa, and red for female and vice versa. Ki choreu and tugo choreu are with equal frequency called ki imedu and tugo imedu; ki kujagureu and tugo kujagureu are with equal frequency called ki aredu and tugo aredu. Theoretically all the items are divided into black or male and red or female. In practice only the items emphasized as ancestors and represented in ceremonies[1] are so divided.

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[1] It was already mentioned (see page 140) that particular items not only belong to a particular clan but are also its ancestors. Many of these items, especially animals, are represented in dramatic performances that are part of the Bororo funeral ceremonies. Clan members never represent their own ancestors; this is the duty of their yorubodare (alliés). Thus, we should distinguish between the owners of the performance, who decide when the representation of their ancestors is to be performed, and their alliés, who are the actual performers in the ceremonies. The owners are responsible for staging the performance and for seeing to it that each actor is painted, ornamented, and supplied with the paraphernalia special to the animal he represents. The actors, on the other hand, with stylized movements, gestures, and sounds try to imitate the animals they represent.

A,[The author apparently means male here--Analyst]

622 ing the lives of the last enemy couple so that they could multiply again. According to most of my informants, an alternative name for Baitogogo is Kaboreu, but one informant strongly disagreed with this opinion. "Kaboreu," he said, "fought many wars and Baitogogo just one, so they cannot be the same person." In clear opposition to Baitogogo and Tadugo (another great chief belonging to the Black Ivagududoge, who does not seem ever to have participated in any major battle) are two of their younger brothers: Birimodo of the same subclan of Baitogogo and Aroya Kurireu of the same subclan of Tadugo. They are known as great killers and fierce warriors, tugoboigarege par excellence.

796 613 In some Bororo ceremonies many of the oppositions are exhibited at the same time. Marido is one of these ceremonies. Ki Bakororo, the most important lineage of the Black Kiye, owns marido imedu (male wheel) and gives its performance to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. Jakorari, another lineage of the Black Kiye, but less important than Ki Bakororo, owns marido aredu (female wheel) and gives its performance to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge. Thus, everything is in accord with the usual [561] [562] pattern: the male object belongs to the older brother and it is given to another older brother; the female object belongs to the younger brother and it is given to another younger brother. Marido imedu is a big wheel and can also be called kurireu (big); marido aredu is smaller and occasionally is called kugurireu (small). The ornaments on top

616 beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane
823 belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts belong to the younger."[1]

534 Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most important Bororo musical instruments: ika and pana. ika, a long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo. The musical instrument of Itubore is pana, a big double calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for [542] rhythm. Usually, when ika plays, the women are not supposed 533 to be present; there is no similar restriction for pana. ika 534 is always played alone or two ika play alternately in a kind of dialog; pana always accompanies songs. (This arrangement correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is [825 831] also significant. ika is elongated and narrow, often with one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo myths and stories). Pana is made of two or more calabashes joined together, and in describing some woman the Bororo often compare her with pana; both of them have pea jaka— 660 the curves of a narrow waist. ika is also the name for two

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[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 361 82 [101] 562 775 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings, the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe--the spirits or souls--which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It [77] 222 223 is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the [551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] [539] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure beeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tubureduqodui jetu mpto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

Another interesting thing has happened with the decline in population. Women and children have become participants in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
301 seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
533 songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
534 a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
162 tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
553 a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
616 the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
562 thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
764 a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
834 penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
822

/118 cont./

114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America
482 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while
[114] the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many
[797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the
121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions; that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect
593 to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery.
[171] While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after
[113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

/119 cont./

562 sexes. With respect to this, one must observe which sex is preferred and why preferred. Many times the fathers prefer the births of males and the mothers those of females; at other times, however, the opposite happens. The births of males might be preferred because of their being more esteemed than the females or because an excess of males makes the value of the [171] females rise. Félix de Azara (Descripción e Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de la Plata, 1847, t. I, p. 202) reports that the Guaikurú/Guaicuru/ and the Guaná killed the majority of their newborn daughters so that the few who were left alive would be desired more by the men, and, therefore, happier. /120/ a custom which, it is supposed, drove the men [113] to steal women from other tribes (v. also: Julio Koslowsky: "Algunos datos sobre los Indios Bororós /Some data on the Bororo Indians/, Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895).

Among the Bororo there is no rule for this preference, which depends each time on the common desire of both parents. Thus an equality of the sexes is shown in the matter.

562 It has been maintained that, infanticide being customary
121 for a people under the domination of a certain sex, -- be it
847 male or female, -- the children of the dominant sex would always be spared (M. Vaerting: Neubegründung der Psychologie von Mann und Weib, I, Die weibliche Eigenart im Männerstaat und die männliche Eigenart in Frauenstaat, /New Argument of the Psychology of Man and Woman, I, The female individuality in the men's state and the male individuality in the women's state/, Karlsruhe, 1921, p. 86). Examples of the so-called Amazon states of Africa were cited. Even if these examples merited confidence, they do not authorize such generalizations. One must consider that the predominant sex might be inclined to keep its own number smaller than that of the dominated sex, not only because such a numerical

/120 cont./

562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be:
the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only
clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
[171] in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones:
the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live
every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous im-
pediment to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.
847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not
yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and
especially of the future mother herself. If, for example,
the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune
in a dream, be it dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epi-
demics, floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered
the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately
after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe,
which does not want to admit anything that might harm its
847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the
newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this
[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not
reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is
in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can
only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete
842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the
757 women forever. They said that only two old men knew this
[113] remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Borôros, Rio
de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They

/127 cont./

616 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however,
614 like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups," but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

553 Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to
[614] the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one has only one name during his whole life. A few days after the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the
[304] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also
[562] pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

551 Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe]
[113] presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/," Festschrift für P.W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734) describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, according to which the names of each Bororo might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the
[614] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos
[616] Boróros, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

/130 cont./
584 to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything
585 to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the
wife, who will receive and will place everything in order,
[601] while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With
this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment
on they will live together, they will call each other by the
names of It'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two
[304] customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related" to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

562 What this German explorer is able to tell about the
831 young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502):
[302] "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

/131 cont./

562 831 the following morning, Maria, rich in experience, in whose resistance there could not have been very serious intentions. Did you not want to get married yesterday? I asked. -- Now I am already married, she answered calmly. She was lying down in all /132/ comfort under a red blanket beside her favorite man, and both were cracking nuts from a palm tree. One day we say Moguyokuri encouraging the young men to decorate Maria, who appeared so brave in the struggle and was so submissive now. Immediately six young men threw themselves upon her, painting her."

The fact, however, that the girl taken to the men's house did not figure there in any manner as a slave without a will of her own is evident and thanks to the following observation by Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 489): "While the women, ordinarily, remained away from the men's house, there was rarely missing there a couple of lovers who frolicked lying under a common red blanket. Nobody was concerned about it, except a few friends tormented by a little jealousy, who actually had been refused by the common sweetheart and had to be satisfied with sitting beside the couple, talking to them."

562 831 184 Such customs in the men's house do not seem to have existed among the Bororo with whom the Salesian missionaries spent their life. At least Colbacchini never mentions anything similar. I did not see any women in the men's house in Tori-paru either.

000 It has been affirmed that the custom according to which one sex is much older than the other one in marriage indicates a predominance of the first (Vaerting, o.c., p. 22 and seq.), quoting examples from Egypt, America, and India. From South American Indians, for example, from the hunting and gathering people of the Chamacoco in the Chaco /133/ (Baldus: Indianerstudien /Indian Studies/, Leipzig, 1931, p. 58),

/133 cont./

000 and from the Mojo, agriculturalists already Christianized by the Jesuits on the Rio Mamoré in Bolivia (Richard N. Wegner: Zum Sonnentor durch altes Indianerland /To the Gateway of the Sun through old Indian country/, Darmstadt, 1931, p. 92), there became known the so-called matrimonial school, an institution according to which adolescent boys marry older women, and older men young girls, the older ones representing, in a way, an educational role. We did not learn of similar
582 rules among the Bororo. Concerning the age ratios in the marriages observed in 1934 in the mission of Meruri, the list reproduced above is to be seen. According to this list, for 4 couples, both spouses were of the same age, for 16 the husband was older, and for 6 the woman was older. For 7, the husband was up to five years older; for 3, he was from five to ten years older; for 6, he was more than ten years older. For 3, the wife was up to five years older; for 2, she was from five to ten years older; for one, she was more than ten years older.

616 One must consider as a harmful consequence of the exogamy
589 practiced among the Bororo the fact that bachelors and the widowed of both sexes often have to remain, without being able to marry for a long time, or even forever, for lack of a corresponding consort from the other "half"; this was observed also by Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50).

616 One can judge the severity with which the separation of the
• 562 exogamic "halves" is observed, even after marriage, by the following observations by Colbacchini (o.c., /134/ pp. 49 and 50); "By their totemism, it is absolutely forbidden for the men of one dynasty to talk, to smile at, or merely to notice or to look at the women of another dynasty. This is observed meticulously and scrupulously. The men of any age, meeting by chance on the road or any place one or more women, not only will keep from being stopped, they will not look at them.

/134 cont./

616 will even turn away to look toward the opposite side, as though
562 to indicate that they want even to escape the danger and
[689] occasion of their eyes meeting. Failure in this traditional precept is considered very grave, and the culprit would fall into the general indignation, into the censure of all, since any look or smile between persons of different sex and diverse dynasty is generally considered bad and immoral.
[264] Never will the women of one dynasty let themselves be seen eating or drinking in the presence of men of another dynasty, and vice versa. There is not, however, any prohibition of these relations between individuals of the same dynasty, be
[593] they men or women. Therefore, when one sees, a man talking to a woman, one is to understand immediately that they are from the same dynastic branch, because, even between husband and wife, the same rules are observed in public, even though not so scrupulously: it will, however, be difficult for the man to talk or to offer anything to his own wife in public, to place her by his side or for them to be together, except when they leave the house and both go to gather fruits, small tubers, or other things in the forest: this is considered a private act."

593 /135/ The position of the husband, conditioned by this severe separation which forces him to spend much time in the men's house, underlines, together with the matrilineal and matrilocal organization, matrimony as an institution socially
[594] secondary, even almost as a private matter. The family, not the one made up of the husband, wife, and the children of both, but the one which consists of the mother and all her consanguineous relatives, forms among the Bororo the primitive
[591] cell and the base of the society. The state of belonging to the mother's family is not altered by marriage either for the man or for the woman; only the man shifts to sleeping, after marriage, in the house of the mother-in-law (matrilocal), while the woman remains for her whole life in the house of her own mother; said better: the man, after marriage, has to make his mother-in-law's house larger by means of an

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[289] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and
[171] weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 In the following list I demonstrate the division of
128 labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

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833 How much the sexual life is related to the social
562 position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in
123 Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is under-
[775] neath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

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833 562 123 775 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day: "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down one beside the other, because one day they will die and then they are reunited."

864 115 Atilio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 171 From Nalikí, old Tereno chief, I received the following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way; later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayakí, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

/144 cont./

000 goddess of the earth, had in common seven rings. "When they met at night, they would decorate themselves with these rings, that is, the one who was lying on top always wore the first four rings, and the one who was lying underneath wore the remaining three rings" (Leo Frobenius: Vom Kulturreich des Festlandes, /From the Cultural Realm of the Continent/, Berlin, 1923, p. 112). According to an ancient Syrio-Judaic tale, Adam and Eve argued in paradise about which of the two, during coitus, had to lie underneath and which one on top (Frobenius, ibidem).

/145/ To what point the socially inferior position of the woman in our civilization is manifested also with respect to the sexual life is shown by the following expressions: "to possess" or "to use" or "to dishonor" a woman. Our collective morality does not tolerate the woman's using such expressions also with respect to the man. She cannot "possess him," but must "belong to him," she cannot "use him," but she must "surrender herself," and she can never "dishonor him," because she must seduce him in such a way that he considers himself the seducer.

Among our Indians, we shall look in vain for a mentality • 562 that establishes similar violent differences between the sexes. This is not contradicted by what Koslowsky (o.c. p. 384) relates about the western Bororo /The following quotation 562 has been translated from the Spanish/: "When they get 224 ready for hunting/the ounce [H.B.]) they begin by [411] observing certain ceremonies, which consist principally of not sleeping with one's wife for four days before leaving to hunt the feline; in this interval he starts by painting his face with urucú, he prepares his arrows at the heat of the fire in order to harden the fibers of the tacuara /bamboo/. Under no circumstance is the woman allowed to touch the point of the arrows, since the Indian believes that with her contact they would lose their power of penetration and that it would [833] attract misfortunes to him." -- When the man avoids relations

/145 cont./

562 224 833 with the woman, supposing that those weaken him physically and also mentally for the exercise of certain offices of his sex; and when he then, thanks to a reasoning by analogy, is led to suppose that the woman would be capable, by means of her contact, of drawing /146/ the strength from the weapons, it is not proved, with this, that he feels superior to the other sex or disdains it. Such customs are found among many peoples of different continents.

833 173 [224] Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri would tell me: "In the past, the men pulled out the mandibles of the ounce, but today they copulate so much they cannot do that anymore. Copulation attacks the blood very much, for this reason the man is stronger when he copulates rarely. In the past they had sexual relations only once or twice a month, today they have them once or twice a week. And in the past, the woman, in spite of the few relations, was content with the man for fear of losing him."

832 833 173 It seems, however, that in certain opposition to this is the indication by the same Tiago Aipobureu, according to which in the past the men consumed as an aphrodisiac the pitch of the jatobá (Hymenaea sp.). "Today the people only rarely eat this pitch; it is not necessary any more because now people always desire to copulate." -- Would this change not be provoked by the Bororo way of living and nourishing themselves, which our civilization altered so much?

832 They say that the only form of sexual caress known by the Bororo is to tickle each other, especially in the armpits and the pudenda, a thing which besides is never manifested in public.

838 839 171 Homosexuality and onanism are unknown among the Bororo, as well as among the majority of the Indian tribes visited by me.

773 /147/ In the legend of Ké-Marugodu (v. pages 175, 176,
593 and 181 of the present book /not included in this translation/,
Adugoedu, the jaguar, recommends to his wife that she should
not laugh and not play with other men. When, in spite of
this, she is led to laugh by Ké-Marugodu, the lizard, she
[616] falls dead in the same instant. Referring to the separation
of the sexes of the exogamous "halves," we have already
found out "that any look or smile between persons of different
sex and diverse 'half' is generally considered evil and immoral."
Undoubtedly, jealousy is one of the motives of this custom
and of that passage quoted from the legend of Ké-Marugodu.

152 Among the Bororo, both sexes show jealousy. Not
578 rarely the jealousy of the women leads them to true duels.

We know of the duel of the women of the Chamacoco
562 (Baldus: Indianerstudien, p. 62). Karl von den Steinen (o.c.,
p. 454) describes that of the Bororo in the following manner:
"When the contention within the hut reached the culminating
point, it was concluded by a kind of fight. They went running
out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one.
Talking and gesticulating in a lively fashion, she placed three
women on one side, and Maria, alone, in front of them. One
of the three advanced with a great leap, and Maria went to
meet her. They got each other by the waist, and a fierce
fight began. And within a few seconds they formed the center
of a thick clew of curious and combatants, a clew that turned
in the center and in conjunction with a larger and looser mass
/148/ along the houses. There was a mad pushing and pressing,
the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with pleasure,
the women howling at their utmost, while the two adversaries
held on to each other, firmly embraced and caught by the
hair. Finally, they were separated by force."

578 Among the Bororo visited by me, the woman, for the
411 duel, tied oblong pieces of the hide armed with the spines
of the tail of the fresh-water ray, on the inner side on the
front joints of the finger. The men do the same thing, and
try to scratch the adversary with this, striking him and

/148 cont./

578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
• [562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
578 but also when their children do some harm to one another or
521 when they themselves get furious because of some gossip.
152 Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive; and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
178 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me:
593 "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
797

/149 cont./

562 114 797 [593] the missions the Bororo woman is equal to the men, this opinion corresponds to their European mentality, convinced of the natural necessity of the predominance of the man, a mentality which judges the abandoned woman more worthy of pity than the one who is beaten. According to the same state of mind, the man is "lord in the house"; and the apostles in Meruri and Sangradouro tell with satisfaction that they have now changed, in the Christian sense, the customs of the Bororo, according to which the woman rules in the house.

121 /150/ But there is something that does not change in the Christian sense and does not let itself be oppressed forever by good or bad doctrines: it is the innate character of the individual, which consists of the will power, the singularity of his sexuality, in sum, the special composition of all his natural dispositions not acquired during life, but already born with him, a composition by which only the individual is individual and continues individual, that is, distinguishes himself from all the other individuals. Although the social position of the sexes for a people gives, to speak in this way, seen from outside, the form to the marriage, although it seems to determine, or at least tries to determine, the relations between the sexes, even in marriage, each marriage is given its own and true configuration, or, said better, its content, internally, from the characters of the individuals who are joined by it. Naturally, the characters not very pronounced are repressed by the norms of the society also in the marriage, since this is a formation which is on the boundary between the social and the individual being. How many men are there among us who would like to be dominated by the woman, and play the role of the inexorable lord and master, instead of producing the force necessary to conquer with his individuality the influence of the conventions created by the predominance of the masculine sex!

/150 cont./

171 The differences in character of the individuals are no
• 562 fewer in an Indian aldeia than in one of our aldeias; and there, too, the very pronounced characters open the road, in marriage, through the /151/ social rules. Among the Guató, whom Couto de Magalhães (O selvagem /the Savage/, 3rd. edition, São Paulo, 1935, p. 148) calls "an exaggerated type of the man's rights over the woman," Julio Koslowsky ("Tres semanas entre los indios Guatos /Three weeks among the Guato Indians/, Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895, p. 232) found a man about whom, after having praised his extraordinary intelligence, he mentions /the following quotation has been translated from the Spanish/: "The only thing that I had to disapprove was the complete submission that he demonstrated toward his wife."

Such examples are found in every tribe of Indians. Among the Tapirapé I saw men who ordered and mistreated the woman, and others who fled from the hut with his plumes when the enraged wife threatened to throw these ornaments in the fire. Among the Karajá there are men who, in a moment of anger, thrashed the woman terribly, and who, in spite of that, in all the important matters, submits to her unconditionally. Karl von den Steinen says, although generalizing, of the Indians of the Xingú region (o.c., p. 332): "The man let the woman carry a heavier load than he did, he ordered her to remain far from the house of the flutes in which the men consulted, smoked, held festivities, and where the men were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and did what she wanted."

562 One day an old lay brother in Sangradouro, who had spent all his life with the Bororo, explained to me, in an ingenuous way, the behavior of this tribe in such situations: "Generally it is the man who commands; but /152/ when one of them is very good to the woman, it is

/152 cont./

562 she who commands."

If we want to investigate the importance of the 121 adornment in the situation of the sexes, we have to ask 562 first when does it serve for proclaiming the adorned individual to the other sex or to his own, and when for showing him superior to the other sex or to his own. But before trying to obtain an answer to such questions, it is necessary to distinguish the adornment conditioned by the society from the adornment originated by the individual.

301 Among the Bororo we can designate as "social adornment" the decorating with the peculiar ornaments of the different clans and with the ornament of plumes connected with [237] religio-collective purposes. The large crown of arara feathers, called pariko, the chest ornament which consists of claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/, and all the various kinds of lip pendants belong to the male sex. [304] The ear lobes, however, are pierced for both sexes, for the [856] purpose of adorning them, that is, as Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 474) mentions, among the lads by the father, as soon as they are eight to ten years of age and begin seriously to prove their skill as a hunter, and among the girls (K. von den Steinen, o.c., p. 501), as we have already seen, as a kind of a signal of a marriage promise by the future husband (4).

4. Let us present here the metal earrings. Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 100) describes a man with this earring in his ear. The Bororo assured me that certain clans wore and wear this ear ornament made of shells, but /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ others made theirs out of a metal which the tribe formerly possessed. They say that this metal

/182 cont./

301 The earring without a tooth, represented in Figure 2, belongs to the clan of the Paĭ-we; the one with a tooth, in Figure 3, is from the clan of the Dyakome(r)-koadda.

[237] It is probable that the shape of these earrings might have been taken from the chest ornament made with the claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/ (Priodontes giganteus) called bokodori inoge (bokodori: tatú canastra; inoge: claw), and represented various times by Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 50) and by Karl von den Steinen (o.c.).

[306] I saw a Bororo in Sangradouro also make a chest ornament in the shape and with the size of the bokodori inoge, but out of a sheet of tin plate.
I was not able to find out whether this shape has any connection with the moon.

/153/ We may consider as "individual adorning" among the Bororo the use of transverse cords on the chest and of the narrow woven ribbons on the arms. Both sexes, /154/ adults and children, are in the habit of wearing them occasionally in order to, as I was assured, be protected from illnesses.

[562] [751]

It seems that the chest ornament made out of animals' teeth serves for the same purpose. Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 479) wrote about this ornament: "Only very rarely does it happen that women also receive these ornaments, which probably results from the change by the colonization, because it is said that among the other Bororo it is common

[237] [751] [562]

/154 cont./

301 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this
• 562 decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care. [237] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment" [836] [593] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both [171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first [171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting [613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

/156 cont./

301 other sex or to his own or shows him superior to the other
• 562 sex or to his own can only be answered in facing this or that particular case. Thus, this answer has only individual-psychological value, and not general value, concerning the significance of the adornment for the position of the sexes.

562 Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 497) writes that among
201 the Indians "it is proper for the woman to cry and 'to tremble' always, when animals, enemies, or merely cataracts threaten, and always to need protection."

I confirmed in my experiences that this is true in general; and when it is observed that the woman, in anger and in fear, utters sharp cries or moans, while the man almost always tries in any case to preserve a more tranquil dignity, we are inclined to see in this behavior a superiority of the man. And even if the cause for the woman's behavior is only her intention "to win by means of weakness" in the relations between the sexes, that seems to us an indication of social inferiority.

000 In the majority of the native tribes the men even want the women to show fear, and certain dances are performed for this purpose. According to Wilhelm Koppers (Unter Feuerlandindianern /Among Fuegian Indians/, Stuttgart, 1924), the Indians in Tierra del Fuego narrate that in ancient times they were completely dominated by the woman, because the latter had joined together in secret leagues and performed rites thanks to which they kept the men in /157/ permanent fear. But one day the men discovered this stratagem and then did the same with the woman; and since that time the latter have been intimidated
[171] by means of practices of sorcery and dances. In the dances of the Inăpĕsĕ of the Chamacoco in the Chaco (Baldus, Indianerstudien, p. 94), what the men want, by means of their mysterious and frightening tricks, is to protest against the power of the women.

/157 cont./

796 Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 494) says about the Bororo
184 dance of the hide of the ounce, which was still observed recently among the so-called Bororo da Campanha, who belong to the western Bororo, by Vincent M. Petrullo ("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of archaeological and ethnological field work at the headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931"; The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, [562] No. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 120 and seqq.): "The fear of the women was the point of the dance."

562 If it seems that the reason that the men practice
796 intimidating the women by means of certain mysteries is, many times, the intention to hold out against the female sex, an intention which does not at all prove that the men are perfectly convinced of their own superiority, but, on the other hand, also a feeling that disturbs them, not because of themselves, but because of the women, might lead them
764 to such practices. This last motive is found, for example,
562 according to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 498), in the funeral feasts of the Bororo. He writes concerning this (o.c., p. /158/ 497): "The fundamental idea of all those solemnities is the fear that the dead one would return to take the living. The weaker sex is shyly excluded from the ceremonies that are held for the purpose of protecting themselves against this possibility. The women go to the [534] forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by a certain sonorous instrument (a kind of "berra-boi" /bull-roarer/, in German Schwirrholz), whose particular [761] sound has a warning or frightening meaning. If they were present, they would be exposed to death. Up to here everything is logical and natural. But, there is more: from this custom was formed the belief that the mere sight of this instrument would already constitute danger for the woman: they would die if they saw it."

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these occasions the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
603 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
[309] Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

/162 cont./
773 fixed, but frequently change faster than the mythology that
[121] reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated
[262] the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided.
[753] The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate
[789] it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially powerful bari capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has,
[121] in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This mythical division of the command between a man and a woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

• 562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is true that the female sex is considered very different from the male one, but in general it is not considered either
[13] inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo
[128] orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source; see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.

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the combined action produces a strange, moaning whir. The rest of that day and all of the following night the bull-roarers are whirled, and their noise is believed to represent the voice of the evil spirit *Bope*. (No woman may see the bull-roarers, for the sight, it is believed, would kill her.) The bones are carried to their final resting

[776]

[562]

[p. 48-C]

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302 593 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers, somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and 304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in 291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over 881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the tatou canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset, made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, ● 562 and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very 346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood in the center and was called bachytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This bachytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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Uneven holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322 a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a
[304] priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.

562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, washing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut is called the *baihýtu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is permitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-

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wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is *mêdo*, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller

skin deep, but now and then they accidentally cut deep and bleed profusely. The reader will have observed that the males do not cut themselves, nor pluck out their hair. They are careful not to injure themselves. It is only the nearest female relative of the deceased that has her hair jerked out. 764 785 [562]

Witnessing these hideous, uncanny and revolting scenes of savagery, in the sickening atmosphere and dismal gloom of the great hut, and listening to the pandemoniacal uproar or medley of infernal noises, one could well imagine that he had somehow been cast into the dungeons of the damned, and was hearing their shrieks, and wails, and moans of unspeakable anguish and despair. While this hideous drama, that only savage tragedians are capable of interpreting, was being enacted, and pandemonium was singing and playing its hellish hymns, and saying its mass, in this cavernous place; outside, a tropical sun was silently inundating the earth with its glorious effulgence, and all Nature, arrayed more beautifully than Solomon in all his glory, sang for joy. ooo

The first part of this horrid nightmare within the great hut with the body present, continues night and day without intermission, until the first sunset after death; then, as the king of light sinks slowly and majestically behind the western wilderness, and the shadows of night begin to gather, symbolical of the closing forever of life's bright, happy day, and the ushering in of the black, sad, hopeless night of the invisible world, the savage choir, chorus and orchestra become hushed; and the enwrapped remains are borne solemnly to the public playground just outside the great hut, placed on top of the ground and covered by a little mound of earth. Here the body lies for a week or more in order that the flesh may decay and separate from the bones. Each evening during this time, at the *meri de códu*—the setting of the sun—as the prince of day resigns the earth to the rule of night, the sorrowing family and sympathizing friends, gather around the sacred mound, and with their faces turned toward the dying light, murmur a low, mournful chant, pleading the virtues of the lost one, and perhaps also recommending him to the good offices of the "supreme power" 764 765 [533] [775]

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Brazil.

776 The sun, being the greatest force in nature known to them,
821 is regarded as a sort of supreme being, or as the seat of supreme
756 power. The sorcerers are believed to enjoy a kind of heaven
795 after death, being exalted to an abode in the sun, calling to mind the heaven of the Incas; but the ordinary Bororó is doomed to wander in the lower regions.

789 Besides seeking to placate disembodied spirits, or demons,
534 or "lay the ghost," the Bororó also seek to frighten them away from the abodes of the living. To accomplish this, they make use of a peculiar instrument that ethnologists call the *roarer*. The sound producer is a slab of wood about half an inch thick, three to six inches broad, one or two feet long, fish formed, and having black spots painted all over it. This is hung to a long cord which is secured to the end of a ten-foot rod; and to sound it, it is swung round and round over the head horizontally. As this slab swings it revolves rapidly upon its axis and emits a series of blood-curdling sounds that can be heard half a mile or more, varying from a loud, diapason, sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek. This frightful and prolonged wail rises and falls in pitch according to the rapidity with which the instrument is swung, or according to its size. To hear the music (?) of an orchestra of these instruments, or rather, their awful, demoniacal shrieks and wails, gives one most unusual sensations, the remembrance of which can never be effaced. The uncanny feeling is intensified if heard, as I once heard it, while a tropical storm is raging; for the flashing of the lightnings, the ceaseless peal and roar and crash of the celestial artillery, the falling floods and the thickening gloom, played and displayed a terrible accompaniment to the unearthly music.

534 No female of the tribe, woman or child, is allowed to look
562 upon this instrument under pain of death. The men appear to
788 make new ones when occasion demands their use, and to burn them immediately after the occasion has passed. I entered the great hut once while they were preparing them for a funeral prelude. Profound silence was maintained, and the savages whispered mysteriously the word *bopi*. Certain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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warning calls are given frequently for some hours in advance of the time when the instruments are to be brought into use. Hearing these warnings the females enter their huts, close the openings and hide their heads. The *roarers* are always manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush, and at openings in the forest.

Many other tribes have mystery instruments and practice demon music. Wallace, describing those of some Rio Negro tribes, says that their instruments are pipes, or tubes, like great bassoons or trumpets, and produce sounds somewhat like trombones or clarinets. One kind is made of bamboo or palm-stems, hollowed out, while others are made of bark, twisted spirally and have mouthpieces of leaves. Each instrument produces but one note, but several pairs are played at the same time, each pair being of the same size and emitting the same note. A simple tune is played, revealing unusual taste for savages; and though the music sounds strange and wild, it is somewhat pleasing. The musicians wave the instruments about in a peculiar manner, vertically and sidewise, while playing them, and accompany these movements with corresponding contortions of the body. These instruments are considered a great mystery. No female of the tribe must ever look upon them under pain of death. From the first moment this mystery music is heard, not a female, young or old, is to be seen for all have hidden themselves away in the woods. If a female should see one of these instruments, either accidentally or by design, she would be put to death, usually by poisoning; and a father will not hesitate to become the executioner of his own daughter, or a husband of his wife. Even where there is only a suspicion that the instrument has been seen by forbidden eyes, no mercy is shown.

I experienced difficulty in getting possession of two or three of the *roarers* for my collection. The Bororó were very reluctant to let me have them, fearing that their women might catch sight of them in some way. But they finally brought them to our hut, one at a time, under cover of darkness, after having borrowed blankets from us in which to roll them, and

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126 534 562 delivered them to me with a solemn, mysterious air. Even after the instruments were in our possession, these superstitious people manifested great solicitude in having us hide them away in the bottom of a box, and placing the box itself in an inaccessible place.

126 534 777 We also had difficulty in securing the big bass flutes used at the funeral *bakororó*. They were not kept hidden from any member of the tribe, yet the savages were loathe to part with them for some superstitious reasons. When I asked a captain to get me a pair, he looked solemn and mysterious, and said by words and signs: "The captain" (myself) "must not take this instrument away with him. It is a very bad instrument; whoever carries it away will never more return." In saying that it was "bad," he meant that it was "bad medicine," that it would bring "bad luck" to the possessor. Perhaps the old pagan was not far wrong after all, for contrary to my expectations, and to my great disappointment, I have not yet been able to return to their villages.

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
● [562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and,
as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the
most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in
Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never
used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens
among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians.
There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about
in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by
vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete
freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought
out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó
and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present
at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a
hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20
along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would
be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have
been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time.
As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all
the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[1114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case
conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and in-
dustrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack
of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about
mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief
Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap
themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

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534 765 belonging to their new associate is being withheld, that in the future they therefore have nothing more to seek in the village, and then later when the bone-basket is disposed of and the deceased leaves the village. The underlying idea of all the ceremonies is the fear that the deceased will return to take away the 534 765 562 living. In the ceremonies undertaken to ward off this possibility, the weaker sex is apprehensively excluded. During this time the women run into the forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by the whizzer stick, whose booming noise has a warning or uncanny character by nature. If they were present, they would risk the danger of dying. Up to this point everything 534 562 784 is logical and natural. Now, however, something more than is necessary happens; in connection with these practices there has developed a danger for the women at even the mere sight of the whizzer stick. They would die if they saw it.

000 Certainly a reinforcement of an exaggerated nature, but not at all incomprehensible. One finds similar exaggerations among our women in their fear of firearms; a lady whom I know held her ears when I showed her a revolver with an open, empty barrel and, in a state of excitement which refused to see and hear anything, begged that it be taken away because -- quoted strictly historically -- "it happens often enough that those things [828] go off even if they are not loaded." When the whizzer stick is heard among the Bororó on the two occasions mentioned, it corresponds to the loaded revolver; there is danger for both men and women, but the apprehension for the latter is greater because in general in the view of the Indian it is part of a woman's nature that she always weeps, "trembles," when animals, enemies, indeed, even waterfalls threaten, and that she is always in need of protection. Now if even the sight of the whizzer stick is dangerous for the woman, this is still partly the fear of the unloaded revolver, partly also a thoughtless form acquired by her as the result of the practice of generations, which is employed with anxious eagerness without examination. In exactly the same way Wallace observed in the Amazonas region that the women flee when the flutes of the jurupari-demon dance are heard, and he was

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000 534 562 784 171 from the women, they obtained the double assurance that the inquisitive sex will show fear and will stay away. Among the Bororó the case is somewhat different; they are concerned about the women. Among other tribes -- each case must be separately investigated, since the striking correspondence could only be external -- it may be a matter of threatening the women with the death penalty, just as the Kulisehu-Indian woman would put herself in such danger to life and limb if she entered the flute house of the men. The statement that "the women would die" may have two very different meanings.

126 534 784 Among the Bororó it was almost impossible for us to obtain whizzer sticks. The fear of improper use was only too well founded in view of the attitude of the Brazilians. /499/ Wilhelm was urgently beseeched not to show to the women the whizzer sticks drawn by him. When we offered to buy them, the aídye were hidden. The men themselves, apparently, had a certain amount of fear when we spoke of these devices as of bows and arrows and any other objects of the collection; one of them turned away apprehensively when I mentioned the subject of aídye and clearly indicated that he would rather not hear anything about it; it was closely bound up with the fear of death. We achieved our wish only through three older boys, regular teenagers, who were as avid for small red beads as we were for the whizzer sticks. They carved and painted them out in the forest. Under cover of darkness the first one appeared in our room very mysteriously and demanded that we close the door and the shutters. Then the second one came knocking, and finally, the third one likewise. Each one had a whizzer stick [688] hidden under a cloth; they whispered that we must carefully conceal them, women and children would die if they caught sight of one; they were particularly insistent that even the men -- the scamp Tobakiu was very much afraid of his father Moguyokuri -- should not find out anything, because they would "brabo" and would beat them unmercifully. We respected this argument and, before their eyes, put the three dangerous sticks in our trunk where it was deepest.

561 /500 cont./
571 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of established institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with
595 his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years
344 old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
562 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."

/506 cont./

765 brush-like and fastened them on the most attractively adorned young man, at the shoulders, where he had black tar spots, on his arms, knees, ankles. This Bororó in the green foliage adornment represented the dead in its present state, buried under a covering of green leaves. Four men stepped up with a basket-bag, brought out clothes of Coqueiro's wife, and hung them on the green one who stood there groaning and rocking with his knees -- a picture of misery, according to our concepts a "poor soul," looking strange in the "overloaded" costume of blue arara feathers, green garlands, and five colored cotton skirts. The others, too, hung skirts on themselves, one man a jaguar [534] skin; they gave the green one a small gourd flute with little [535] white feathers pasted on it and performed a dance. A man with two rattle-gourds led the dance, behind him danced the green one, and behind this one the other four, all six sang in chorus and danced, stepping to the right and stepping to the left, first to the ranchão, then turned back, and, dancing, stamped out a circle on the ground. Suddenly they veered off and, in disorder, ran toward the forest where they disappeared.

With the little gourd flute the late deceased called two dead persons who had lain in the earth for a long time. They were supposed to be present when the belongings were surrendered, to receive their new companion, and to be convinced that no one was withholding anything of his which on subsequent disagreeable visits he might demand back from the survivors.

After a quarter of an hour the swarm came storming back with frightful whoops, two of them carried on their backs -- hurrah, the dead ride fast -- two truly ghastly figures, naked, unadorned, plastered from head to foot with wet river loam. 765 With bestial cries the loam-monsters leaped about like wild 768 animals, three whizzer sticks buzzed and whirred through the air [534] like huge bluebottle flies -- no female creature was to be seen [562] far and wide, and the huts lay as though uninhabited, closed up with mats -- in the middle of the recently stamped circle a bright fire was lighted with great bustle, a tremendous load of all kinds of household equipment was dragged up, baskets, fire fans,

/508 cont./

765 [152] Meanwhile Coqueiro also arrived, holding a child by the hand. He sat down quietly to one side, sobbed and wept. He wore no ornament, except the black cord around his waist, which he had spun and plaited out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he squeezed his eyes shut as though weeping were painful.

Gradually the vault of the skull was covered with red arara velvet. If a person had to wipe off his hands, he used the basket. Some of those present soon no longer paid any attention to the celebration. The children were running about gaily, a few men were munching on ears of maize and working, a couple of women were delousing each other, but kept on singing devoutly. It also became emptier.

One eventually became drowsy from all the whirring and booming tones. A drummer joined in, a pelt of small parrot feathers pasted on his arms. The room filled up again. Seven 765 785 women stepped up to the old bone-basket, scratched themselves, and placed their feet on it so that their blood soaked the straw too. Cf. Plate 29 /see p. 633/. The wounds were two to three centimeters apart, a red network covered legs and arms, chests and abdomens. Their facial expression remained calm and showed no pain; the scratching was done with extremely quick movements. They all wrapped their sliver of glass in a leaf, handed [152] it to Coqueiro, and sat down beside him. New groups came to scratch themselves, always only women and girls, and did what the preceding ones had done; each one, before she made a scratch, put the sliver to her mouth and moistened it. Booming and droning, two flutes joined the music of the rattling gourds, the drum, the singing and stamping. The singers danced with incredible endurance. Coqueiro also squatted down beside the basket and scratched his arms, while a woman stood beside him with her child on her back.

765 Toward noon the skull and the basket were finished. In the case of the former, the red velvet cap was interrupted by a pretty yellow cross-line, corresponding to the cranial suture. Snowy white feathers were glued on the new basket, and on either side, in the white area, two rows of red squares, like